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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 61st MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 4 December 1991, at 10 p.m.

President:	Mr. SHIHABI	(Saudi Arabia)
later:	Mr. LEGWAILA (Vice-President)	(Botswana)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [37] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

  (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

/...

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(d) Report of the Special Political Committee

(e) Draft resolution

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [102] (continued)

(a) Report of the Secretary-General

(b) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 37 AND 102 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/46/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/46/44)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/499, A/46/507, A/46/648)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/46/643)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.3)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/561)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.25)

Miss AL MULLA (Kuwait): Like tail winds to an aeroplane, the winds of change around the world might bring us, the international community, closer to our destination: a non-racial South Africa. The relief or euphoria of being close to that end, to the end of an arduous journey, should not distract us from the challenges that may still lie ahead.

The international community cannot reach its stated goal unless it perseveres in the course set for itself when embarking on the process towards eradicating apartheid. The process is becoming smoother. Most of the basic laws of apartheid have been repealed. However, the road ahead remains bumpy. The injustices of these laws, as the Secretary-General stated in his second progress report (A/45/1052), still persist. I am referring to the consequences of abolishing the Population Registration Act, whereby persons born before 25 July 1991 continue to be racially classified until a new constitution is in place. Another example is the injustice that persists even after abolishing the Land Acts, whereby no provisions are set to address

(Miss Al Mulla, Kuwait)

restitution of land to their previous owners. Violence against the people has also threatened progress towards settlement. It is hoped that the National Peace Accord signed in September will contribute to a climate of free political activity.

The repatriation of exiles is a gratifying development. The role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been remarkable. My delegation highly commends active support for the efforts of the Commissioner. We look forward to a smoother process of change following the convention for a Democratic South Africa later this month.

As the process of positive change slowly unfolds in South Africa, the international community should maintain pressure to encourage progress. Serious deviation from this course might bring us to a destination different from the one we had envisaged at the start of the journey. To quote the Chairman of the Committee against Apartheid:

> "it is incumbent on the international community not to abandon its role and obligation to serve as a balancing and supporting element in helping the evolving situation in South Africa." (A/46/PV.58, p. 8)

Sanctions should be lifted only in stages corresponding to the progress made towards eradicating apartheid, such as the establishment of transitional arrangements. For its part, Kuwait will abide by this policy guideline.

In anticipation of reaching our destination, we should not fail to address the tasks that are awaiting us on the ground, challenges born by decades of dispossession and inequity. A free democratic South Africa may not earn its name if the international community ignores the needs of decent living, let alone development, especially for the black majority of the population. We should not arrive at our destination empty-handed, but

(Miss Al Mulla, Kuwait)

envisage means to assist the South African population to embark on the road of progress with its feet firmly on the ground.

As the flight to freedom from racial constriction and freedom from poverty for the black majority of South Africa proceeds on its course, it is guided among other things by the direction this international body sets. The consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa charted the course in 1989. The input also of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa in maintaining that course has proved essential.

Kuwait is honoured to recognize the contribution of the Chairmen of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group, as well as of their members, and that of the Secretariat of the Centre against Apartheid.

Together, the international community can make the journey. Let us not abandon each other in the process.

Mr. CHEW (Singapore): The tremendous changes taking place at present in the rest of the world have been paralleled by encouraging and important reforms in South Africa, beginning with the historic release of Mr. Nelson Mandela last year. We in Singapore reaffirm once again our firm support for Mr. Mandela and his colleagues in their historic struggle to eliminate apartheid. We support the view that the international community should remain engaged in the ongoing political process to enable both sides to negotiate in good faith.

Major advances in this struggle have been the repeal of the legislative pillars of apartheid, namely the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Black Land Act No. 27 of 1913, the Development Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Black Communities Development Act of 1984. In this connection we note that the United Nations Secretary-General, in his second progress report on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid has stated:

> "While the most basic laws of apartheid, as promised, were removed by last June, many of the concomitant attitudes and practices, as indeed the consequences of those laws, do persist." (A/45/1052, para. 8)

That demonstrates how much more remains to be accomplished, because apartheid is not truly eradicated until the inculcated attitudes and behavioural patterns reflect a better appreciation and understanding of the equality of all men and women, irrespective of colour, religion or social status.

Other major political achievements include the National Peace Accord signed on 14 September 1991 by 31 organizations, including the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Inkatha and the National Party. That provided, inter alia, codes of conduct both for political parties and organizations and for the security forces, as well as a monitoring mechanism.

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

We regard that as an important step towards an interim government. We hope to see the National Peace Accord implemented fully, because the ongoing political violence is a major threat to the peaceful, democratic transformation of South Africa.

The establishment of a Patriotic Front of the ANC, the Azanian People's Organization, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), black trade unions and other black organizations in October 1991 is a positive step forward. It is an important demonstration of black political solidarity and a necessary tactical alliance to press for the interim government and for a popularly elected assembly to draft a constitution leading to black majority rule. As Mr. Walter Sisulu has stated, the formation of the Patriotic Front marks the beginning of the battle for democratic rights. It is also the necessary prelude to the proposed multiparty conference to be held on 20 and 21 December 1991 under a neutral convener to discuss constitutional issues. In this context we note President De Klerk's assurance that he remains committed to a negotiated political situation notwithstanding the failure of the National Peace Accord to halt political violence in South Africa. We also welcome the agreement reached in August 1991 between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the South African Government on the voluntary repatriation of political exiles.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, summed up the progress so far in his statement on 11 October, in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. He stated:

> "Overall, the process towards the end of apartheid in South Africa, although halting, remains on course. Major apartheid legal structures have been repealed; several measures necessary for a climate of

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

negotiations as well as peace initiatives have been undertaken, and South Africa appears to be moving ahead towards the beginning of substantive negotiations. ...

"... it is imperative that the impartiality of the security forces in the maintenance of law and order, for which the Government bears final responsibility, should be scrupulously maintained." (A/AC.115/PV.652, pp. 8, 9-10 and 11)

We support the Secretary-General's call for an end to violence and the release of all political prisoners, as agreed under the Pretoria Minutes, and the convening of an all-party forum at the end of 1991 to discuss the transitional arrangements and mechanisms for drafting a new constitution. We also agree with the Secretary-General's observation that "encouragement, pressure and assistance" (A/45/1052, para. 14) would need to be suitably applied as the process continues towards a non-racial democratic South Africa. The recently concluded preparations for a formal convention for a democratic South Africa will give impetus to negotiations on a new constitution.

On the issue of encouragement and pressure, the Secretary-General has stated in his second progress report, quoted earlier, that:

"The response of the international community needs to be finely tuned to this complex and delicate process." (A/45/1052, para. 14)

We fully agree with his view. That is why Singapore supports the decision taken by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in their meeting at Harare, which is spelled out in paragraph 22 of their October 1991 Communiqué, to endorse

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"the programmed management approach, elaborated by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa, linking any change in the application of sanctions to the taking of real and practical steps to end apartheid."

We also support the efforts of the Commonwealth Secretary-General to find ways in which the Commonwealth could assist the negotiating process. Singapore understands why it is necessary that there should be no unilateral and premature lifting of sanctions. In addition, the mandatory arms embargo should be retained until a new government is elected through free and fair elections in South Africa.

Singapore is prepared to assist the people of South Africa during the difficult transitional period. Towards that end, our Prime Minister has met Mr. Nelson Mandela, as well as Mr. Walter Sisulu, on a number of occasions. After their meeting at Harare, Mr. Nelson Mandela indicated that the ANC would send a delegation to Singapore to study the issue of governing a multi-racial country on a non-racial basis and also to study Singapore's economic development.

In conclusion, whilst progress has been made, more steps should be taken through peaceful negotiations in the difficult transition process. The objective must be the total abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a non-racist, united, democratic South Africa where the black majority rules but where minority rights are respected and protected. This has been shown to be viable in countries like Namibia and Zimbabwe. Above all, the process of change should be peaceful and non-violent. It is only in such a situation that economic development can take place and foreign investors encouraged to invest in a post-apartheid South Africa.

(Mr. Chew, Singapore)

Without economic development and foreign investments the people of South Africa will not be able to enjoy the full benefits of majority democratic rule. Finally, we hope soon to be able to welcome back into the United Nations family a South Africa in which the Government has been democratically elected, rightfully to resume its seat and to play a very important role as one of the economic locomotives of Africa.

Mr. KUKAN (Czechoslovakia): After one year we have a chance to take a look at how South Africa, in which the policy of apartheid had been implemented for decades, is or is not changing. Until recently, the news coming from that area has been of the continuing oppression of the coloured population of South Africa, and of the South African policy of destabilization towards neighbouring African countries.

The latest developments, however, show that South Africa has started and is continuing the process of the gradual dismantling of the system of apartheid. In October 1990, the law forbidding the use of public facilities by certain groups of the population and martial law throughout the territory were lifted.

In June 1991, the Parliament of South Africa dismantled the last legal pillars of apartheid - the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, the Development of Black Communities Act and the Population Registration Act. The new democratic, non-racist constitution is in preparation, and once it is adopted the country will have broken for ever with legalized racial discrimination.

Czechoslovakia observed with interest the course of the Commonwealth Summit in Harare, Zimbabwe. We regard its decision on the gradual cancellation of sanctions against South Africa as a positive approach to current reality and to the democratic changes which are now under way in

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South Africa. As a State which has resumed its former democratic traditions only recently, we shall continue to support these changes.

We welcome the positive changes in South Africa because Czechoslovakia could not agree with mere cosmetic changes to the regime of apartheid. As we have stressed many times, Czechoslovakia fully agrees with the basic principles for a future arrangement in the Republic of South Africa embodied in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. At the same time, we are of the opinion that the international community should even now react with more understanding to the positive shifts in South African society which have been made in the past year. We believe that a more favourable climate has been created for consideration of how to proceed with lifting sanctions, including the embargo on oil shipments, and involving the Republic of South Africa in the world economic system. The economic potential of that country should be used for the benefit of the whole population without any distinction as to skin colour. In this connection, the fact that the long-lasting economic sanctions of the international community has had a harmful effect mainly on the black part of the population should not be disregarded.

The political system in present-day South Africa is no longer that of apartheid as we knew it in the past. The process of democratic changes being carried out by the Government of President De Klerk can be considered as a sincere effort to ensure the transition to a non-racial and democratic society. In this connection, the question is often asked as to the irreversibility of these changes. I am sure that we all agree that a positive solution to many problems in the world was made possible by the end of the cold war and by a world-wide democratization trend to which nearly all

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countries have subscribed, inter alia, in the statements their representatives have made from this very rostrum. Quite simply, the world has changed. Until this trend towards democratization develops further and strengthens, it is not possible that a regime based on ideas that are completely contradictory to this process can exist in a world which is interconnected by the same ideas. The adherence of all of us - Members of this Organization - to the principles of humanity, democracy and respect for human rights is the soundest and the best guarantee of the irreversibility of the positive changes in South Africa.

The course of the general debate on agenda item 37, as we have been able to witness it so far, creates the impression that we have sometimes been confusing the notions of apartheid and undemocratic society. It is quite certain - and we have no doubts about it whatsoever - that apartheid is an undemocratic and inhuman regime, but in the case of the criticism of South Africa that we make nowadays it is more a criticism of an undemocratic society in which representatives are not elected in free and equal elections than of a regime of apartheid the legal pillars of which to a great extent no longer exist in practical terms.

We deem that the above-mentioned changes have also created the preconditions for a gradual activation of Czechoslovakia's relations with that country, which has been living for decades in international isolation. In the political sphere, Czechoslovakia has established diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa at the level of embassies. In the economic field, we have already started the gradual establishment of direct economic and commercial relations between Czechoslovak and South African enterprises and

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organizations, at the same time strictly abiding by the international obligations of Czechoslovakia arising from the resolutions adopted by our Organization in the military and security spheres.

The delegation of Czechoslovakia studied with interest the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid - the work of which we appreciate - as well as the report of the Secretary-General, and hopes that the resolutions which will be adopted on the issue of apartheid by this year's session of the General Assembly will be realistic and balanced so that they can really, in a peaceful way, help the transition of South Africa to a democratic and prosperous society.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Ever since it was created, the United Nations has attached special importance to the anachronistic situation arising from the policy of apartheid established by South Africa. That policy, based on racial discrimination and on the denial of the fundamental rights of the South African majority, has been condemned and rejected, both in its principles and in its manifestations, by the entire international community.

The climate of international détente that has emerged in recent years has certainly contributed to the positive evolution of the situation in southern Africa. In fact, the adoption at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly in December 1989 of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa reflects the progress achieved in that context, a progress of which our Organization can be proud. The consensus adoption of that Declaration testifies to the unswerving determination of the international community to lay the foundations for the complete eradication of the apartheid regime through the effective implementation of the universal principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations and through the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society in South Africa.

Since the adoption of that document, there have been important and promising developments in South Africa. The country is, in fact, at a decisive turning-point in its history. A conjunction of favourable internal and international circumstances enables us to look with optimism towards a solution to the crisis that has affected not only that country but also the entire subregion for many decades.

The South African Government has taken concrete measures to implement the recommendations contained in the Declaration on Apartheid. The release of

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the ban on political movements - including the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - the ending of the state of emergency, the beginning of a constructive dialogue between the parties, and especially the important progress achieved through the repeal of the fundamental laws on which apartheid is officially based are all changes that should be encouraged. My delegation hopes that the process thus begun will continue in an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation between the parties. Violence and confrontation can only delay and even endanger the political future of the country.

In that context, my country welcomes the adoption by the various parties last September of the National Peace Accord. We believe that it is an important and promising step towards the initiation of constitutional negotiations. We can already express optimism at the fact that the preparatory meeting for the constitutional negotiations, held on 29 and 30 November, took place in a climate of general satisfaction. That gathering was described by the representative of the South African Government as a categorically clear and irreversible break with the past, and by the representative of the ANC as the beginning of genuine negotiations following a long series of preliminary talks.

Our optimism should not, however, make us lose sight of the fact that this historic process may be relatively long and laborious, in part because of the complexity of South Africa's socio-economic problems and of the non-constructive or even negative attitudes of certain South African circles regarding the changes now under way. For that reason, my country hopes that,

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at each stage of the process, the reforms achieved can be turned into realities and bring benefit to the South African majority without further delay.

My country notes with satisfaction the growing convergence of views among the South African parties on a certain number of basic principles that should be set forth in a new constitution. We hope that the meeting among all the parties concerned which is planned for December will have tangible results leading to the total elimination of the apartheid regime. In that connection, we cannot fail to express our satisfaction at the wisdom of Government and opposition leaders who have taken note of the fact that the only realistic option is that of dialogue and negotiation. It is undeniable that they and they alone are the ones who must determine the form of society and Government to which they aspire.

We strongly encourage them to show the utmost flexibility in order to overcome the difficulties and divisions inherited from the apartheid system. We also express the hope that during the period of transition to the new democratic order, mutual confidence-building measures will be established through the implementation of a code of conduct and precise mechanisms aimed, among other things, at facilitating the economic reconstruction and development of the areas devastated by violence.

Our Organization, which in recent years has reasserted itself as the forum of choice for the settlement of the most complex international problems, has a special responsibility to see to it that the process now begun can, under its auspices, be pursued in the best possible conditions and lead to the desired results. In that context, the international community will have to maintain a determined and constructive attitude and to persevere until a democratic and non-racial South Africa has been established.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

The Kingdom of Morocco, having always expressed its unequivocal and firm condemnation of the anachronistic apartheid system and unreservedly supported the rights of the South African people to freedom, justice and dignity, cannot but rejoice at the development of the situation in that part of the African continent. My country, a consistent advocate of the virtues of dialogue and the peaceful settlement of disputes, has always striven to be a land of hospitality, a meeting place where the wisdom of the exchange of views and understanding can prevail.

Mr. OLIYNYK (Ukraine): In recent years the United Nations has grown increasingly instrumental in resolving many long-standing and difficult global and regional problems and disputes. We find ourselves today on the threshold of a major breakthrough in our quest for the speedy and final eradication of long-standing forms of discrimination and oppression. For many years, the efforts of the international community have been focused on the need to abolish the policy of apartheid.

One can hardly overestimate the significance of the Declaration adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. The Declaration symbolized the start of a new and, we hope, final page in the process of eliminating apartheid. Since its adoption, there have been positive changes in South Africa, many of which have already been mentioned at this rostrum by previous speakers. The political process in South Africa today is entering a new and radically different period of concrete, broad-based negotiations on fundamental changes in South Africa. Taking into consideration the complexity of the political, social and economic situation in the country, the different approaches of the parties to the problems of the redistribution of power in the transitional period, the final structure of

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power and the provisions of a new constitution, the negotiations on this matter can be expected to be lengthy, painful and complex.

The fragility of the situation in South Africa requires the international community to adopt a careful approach aimed at encouraging and supporting the negotiation process, which is the only means for a peaceful transformation to a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Today as never before, a fine-tuning to the wavelength of the negotiations in South Africa is needed. Any thoughtless, crude actions from outside the country - be they the complete removal of sanctions or tough pressure on the Government - could harm the political process. Now the wisdom of our Organization lies in creating a propitious and helpful international atmosphere around the negotiating table.

(Mr. Oliynyk, Ukraine)

In that respect, I should like to concentrate mainly on the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which over the years has played a significant, indeed leading, role in the international campaign against apartheid.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has constantly developed; it has accumulated experience and improved its system of coordination. The Centre against Apartheid has gained considerable research and publicity potential and a broad information bank, and has developed close, productive links with anti-apartheid forces both inside and outside South Africa. But under the new circumstances a conceptual reassessment of the role of that body must take place in order to keep pace with the changes in South Africa. Creative use of the whole of its potential, adapting it to the new realities, is now a major political imperative for the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid.

South Africa has entered a transitional period. As stated in the second progress report of the Secretary-General, the political process in this period may be relatively lengthy and even vulnerable. A high degree of contradiction, uncertainty and even unpredictability remains as one of the most striking features of this transitional phase. But now that the political process in South Africa is at the stage of concrete negotiations aimed at practical changes in the political, social and economic life of South African society, the activities of the Special Committee against Apartheid must become more constructive, flexible and significant.

Today as never before, creative work by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid is needed to increase the contribution of those bodies to a peaceful settlement in South Africa. The

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Special Committee against Apartheid might begin now to formulate a new approach for this transitional period.

In our view, one of the main tasks of the international community, and therefore of the Special Committee, at this stage is to encourage the ongoing process of broad-based negotiations on establishing a non-racial, multi-party democracy in South Africa and to do everything possible to help keep the negotiations on track, to encourage political leaders to move forward in the negotiations and to do everything they can to improve the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa.

During the coming years of transition it will be necessary to keep international opinion aware of developments in South Africa. All facts regarding violations by the Government of South Africa of its own promises and agreements with the liberation movements should be monitored by the United Nations and brought to the attention of the world community. More emphasis should be placed on supporting productive initiatives of the liberation movements, and these should be widely published. This would strengthen the moral pressure on the Government.

Removal of the legislative pillars of apartheid does not mean that apartheid has been eliminated completely. It is on the wane, but it is far from dead. It has very strong survival instincts because of its deep historical roots.

The complexity of the transitional situation in South Africa obviously calls for continuous, wide-ranging support from the international community. That support can be effective only if properly coordinated. There is a need for a combined approach to the problems of political, social and economic development, the protection of human rights and the democratization of South African society.

(Mr. Oliynyk, Ukraine)

The success and effectiveness of multilateral political, social and economic assistance to the process of change in South Africa will depend primarily on concerted efforts by all competent bodies of the United Nations family. It is necessary to continue to promote and develop reliable instruments of coordination. First steps in that direction have already been taken by the Special Committee against Apartheid, but its mandate in the field of coordination should be strengthened. The importance of this derives, inter alia, from the fact that during the transitional period the necessity might arise for a kind of international caretaker structure should violence continue to obstruct progress in carrying out the fragile process of a political settlement. The goal would be to contribute to enabling the transitional arrangements to move the country from apartheid to non-racial democracy.

During the transitional period in South Africa there must be local, regional and national elections; these might also require some form of international supervision to ensure that they are free and fair.

The possible involvement of an international mediating group in the political process in South Africa must be properly prepared beforehand. A United Nations fact-finding and monitoring mission could be established in South Africa to collect first-hand information for a comprehensive assessment of the political situation in that country and for working out recommendations regarding an appropriate international response.

Obviously, the United Nations mission must not affect the sovereignty of South Africa or constitute interference in the country's internal affairs. After the transitional period it could be transformed into a United Nations information centre.

(Mr. Oliynyk, Ukraine)

Of course, I have only expressed our ideas, not made formal proposals. Perhaps these ideas could be taken into account by the Special Committee against Apartheid when it analyses the debate on this agenda item at the current General Assembly session.

In conclusion, I should like to express our gratitude to Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for his energetic and wise leadership of the Special Committee during this crucial, changing time in South Africa.

Mr. BASHARMAL (Afghanistan): My delegation is gratified to note that this year the General Assembly is deliberating upon the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa at a time when there are grounds for optimism for the future. Not only has the general international atmosphere improved - which facilitates the solution of a variety of problems facing mankind - but in South Africa itself steps have been taken to pave the way towards the peaceful dismantling of the apartheid system. Namibia, thanks to the heroic struggle of its people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization and the sustained support of the international community, is today a free country.

In South Africa itself, some positive changes have taken place. Faced for years with repeated and persistent moral condemnation of apartheid and with economic sanctions by the international community, Pretoria has finally realized that apartheid is not sustainable in any form. What remains to be done is to take the final, courageous step of dismantling it altogether in favour of a non-racial, democratic system for the entire South African people.

(Mr. Basharmal, Afghanistan)

In that connection, we welcome the release of a number of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and of the ban on opposition political parties, and a number of other improvements that have taken place. *

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* Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Basharmal, Afghanistan)

However, we note with concern that the basic machinery of the apartheid system is still in place. The international community has been unanimous in its verdict that apartheid cannot be reformed. The only solution, therefore, lies in its total elimination. Nothing less would be acceptable to the South African majority or to the international community. South African authorities must adopt all the measures necessary to create conditions suitable for a peaceful, negotiated replacement of apartheid by a non-racial, democratic system of government.

To this end, my delegation is deeply concerned about the recent wave of violence in South Africa which has brought so much human loss and suffering to the people. While we believe that this violence is the direct result of the violent nature of apartheid itself, we maintain that the South African authorities must shoulder their responsibility for providing security to all segments of the South African people.

On a positive note, my delegation supports the talks that have taken place between the African National Congress (ANC) and the white South African authorities. However, we believe these authorities should implement further reforms to make it possible for these talks to deal with the substantive issue of the future constitution of the country and its political system. While commending the ANC decision to suspend armed struggle as a sign of good will, we realize that the steps taken by the South African authorities so far, although in the right direction, do not suffice to pave the way to speedy and constructive negotiations.

The positive initial changes witnessed in South Africa are in no small measure the result of the heroic struggle of the non-white majority of the South African people. Their rejection and defiance of the abhorrent apartheid

(Mr. Basharmal, Afghanistan)

system, carried out with great courage in the face of the Pretoria regime's repressive machinery, have been truly instrumental in opening the way to the eventual dismantling of apartheid. However, we should also like to note the tremendous effect the support of the international community for this just cause has had. In particular, we should mention the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, unanimously adopted by the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. The South African regime must implement in full the measures recommended by the Declaration.

In this connection, I should like to draw representatives' attention to the interim report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, dated 10 June 1991, which clearly states that

> "A year and a half after the adoption of the Declaration, the South African regime has failed to fulfil all of the five conditions set out in the Declaration to establish a climate conducive to negotiations." (A/AC.115/L.675, para. 5)

While noting with regret that the provisions of the Declaration are yet to be implemented in their totality by the South African regime, my delegation believes that attention should also be focused on obligations in the Declaration assigned to Member States of this Organization in conformity with mankind's common endeavour to eradicate this shameful and inhuman system of apartheid. In this connection, we strongly support the maintenance and strengthening of international sanctions against the South African regime.

Unfortunately, we are hearing impatient voices from some countries calling for the lifting of the sanctions even though the machinery of apartheid has not yet been completely destroyed. We see no reason to lift

(Mr. Basharmal, Afghanistan)

sanctions against South Africa. The sanctions, as an effective means of pressure, should be maintained as long as apartheid exists.

The delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan reiterates once again its commitment to supporting the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against apartheid until it is totally eliminated from the face of our planet.

We are of the opinion that the international community, especially the United Nations, should play an important role in assisting the people of South Africa who have suffered from apartheid for several decades and who have persistently struggled to put an end forever to the policy of apartheid. The people of South Africa should be given the opportunity to enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedom regardless of their race and color. Apartheid is far from over, and we must not relax our vigilance until it is completely eradicated.

Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The most significant fact that faces the international community today is that the racist regime still exists, despite numerous changes and positive developments. The continued existence of that regime faces the world with its evils and defies justice and the principles enshrined in the Charter and in international law. The continued existence of that regime is the cause of the violence and escalating strife in South Africa and of the obstacles that impede the progress of that country's people towards freedom and equality.

For years, the international community has given priority to the call for the complete eradication of the apartheid regime in order to enable the people of South Africa freely and fully to enjoy their legitimate rights under a non-racist, democratic regime. That is why Iraq has continued to support the

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

just struggle of the South African people for their freedom and sovereignty. Iraq's position has remained unchanged, despite the difficult times it has faced and still faces as a result of the brutal aggression against it and the total inhuman blockade that has been imposed on our brave people. Our people has stood together with other peoples of the world against apartheid and lent support to the people of South Africa and Namibia as well as to the other victims of apartheid, in addition to the support we have extended to the front-line States. In so doing, Iraq proceeded from its profound belief in the principles of right and justice and its commitment to its international obligations and the need to implement the resolutions of the United Nations, since we regard this as the way to uphold international legality and to enable the South African people to enjoy its inalienable rights.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

The positive developments in South Africa, particularly over the past two years, have been brought about by the fierce and mighty struggle waged by its people and the sacrifices it has made. There can be no doubt that those developments can continue only through the further consolidation of the struggle and on the intensification of the international support extended to that people. This can take place only if we guarantee the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council against the apartheid regime. This will result in restoring more rights to the people of South Africa and speeding up the process of completely dismantling that regime. However, it would be wrong to exploit those positive developments and use them as a pretext for circumventing the resolutions of the international community. Such a policy can only result in perpetuating the apartheid regime rather than doing away with it. It will also create great difficulties for the national liberation movements in South Africa.

Despite international protests and the opposition of the national forces in South Africa to that policy, certain well-known States have continued to pursue it and to pressure other States to water down the international pressure on the apartheid regime. This is yet another example of the policy of double standards pursued by the States of the West in dealing with many of the causes of the world's peoples.

While those States tighten further their inhuman blockades against the people of Iraq and other peoples of the third world, use the weapon of economic embargo and suspension of assistance and credits as a means of political pressure to impose their colonialist will and their standards on those peoples, to interfere in their internal affairs and to hatch plots to change their political systems, we find that the selfsame States adopt

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

different policies vis-à-vis the Pretoria apartheid regime and the twin racist regime of Tel Aviv, by providing both regimes with moral and political protection, strengthening them and ensuring their survival at the expense of the people of South Africa and the people of Palestine.

In addition, this policy has negative effects on the countries of the third world because of the imbalances it creates in international economic relations.

Persistence in applying such double standards with their attendant negative effects is bound to undermine the optimism of the countries of the third world which aspire to a just international order that would guarantee them their rights and assure them of a prosperous future in which all peoples may enjoy equality and be free of discrimination.

The similarity of the situation in the Arab region and that in South Africa does not stem only from the policy of double standards applied vis-à-vis both regions, but also from the results of the continued strategic collaboration between the South African regime and Israel, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. Despite all the known facts about this collaboration the most recent being the revelations in Seymour Hirsch's book "The Samson Option" which has been published recently in the United States, and despite the international community's condemnation of such collaboration, we find that the advocates of the so-called international order do nothing but keep silent and encourage the two regimes. It is really paradoxical that the apartheid regime in South Africa should have been able to develop a nuclear capability at a time when it has been subject to a statutory international embargo. This begs the question which we must addresss to the apostles of the new international order: have they lived up to their commitments under that

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

statutory international embargo and how fervent have they been in upholding the rule of law and international legality?

While we join the other countries which call for resolute steps to be taken against both racist regimes, we wish to remind the international community of the grave dangers inherent in this attitude of permissiveness towards these two regimes and the grave threats posed by their mushrooming nuclear capabilities not only to the Arabs and Africans but also to international peace and security. Hence the need to demonstrate firmness and speed up the abolition of the abhorrent apartheid regime.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to reiterate that it has been Iraq's constant policy not to have any dealings whatsoever with the South African regime and to support the striving of the people of South Africa for its legitimate aspirations foremost among which is the total eradication of the apartheid regime and the establishment of a democratic and non-racist regime that would guarantee justice and equality for the people of South Africa and thereby ensure the prosperity and stability of the whole region.

Mr. McLEAN (Canada): We meet at an extraordinary time, a time of great promise for South Africa and its people. South Africa in the past year has taken major strides on the road to democracy. As we have been rehearsing in this debate, the legislative pillars of apartheid have been abolished, well over 1,000 political prisoners have been freed and security laws have been substantially reformed. A long-sought agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has paved the way for exiles to return home and for the first United Nations presence in the country. A process of negotiations has been launched which will lead, we hope and believe, to agreement on a new non-racial and democratic constitution.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

These important advances are a victory for justice. They are a victory in the long struggle of the people of South Africa. They are a tribute to the leadership of President de Klerk, and we encourage him to persevere. They also raise hope among South Africa's neighbours that their own sacrifices in the common cause may be nearing an end.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

But much remains to be done. Despite a start in implementing the National Peace Accord, political violence is still, tragically, rife. There is a continuing lack of trust in the security forces. Apartheid continues in education and social services. There are still scores of political prisoners; they must be released as a matter of urgency. The pre-eminent matter overall is that the black majority still cannot vote.

South Africa now stands at a crossroads. The Government, the liberation movements and other parties have agreed to hold in a matter of weeks an all-party Convention for a Democratic South Africa. The participants will all have our hopes and support. But they must not be burdened with our unrealistic expectations. As South Africans are the first to say, there will be no easy road to freedom.

Beyond a shared commitment to negotiate, the major parties are at odds on many aspects of their constitutional proposals. Violence remains an ever-present threat to these negotiations. One of the greatest challenges facing South Africa is to make the newly created structures of the National Peace Accord work on the ground, in the townships and mining compounds of South Africa. But the ultimate responsibility for peace and stability lies with the South African Government. President De Klerk and his colleagues must take decisive action to ensure that the security forces uphold the rule of law without fear or favour. "Transparency" - that great word of the United Nations family these days - is needed in all their actions.

Canada has worked hard to bring about an end to apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. As I have said here in previous years, we believe this is an issue where joining forces with other nations in the United Nations and the Commonwealth can make a difference, and

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

that our joint action must not stop because it is having some effect. As I now reflect over the years, indeed, it did have an effect.

Our sanctions were always intended to bring the South African Government to its senses, not to its knees; to pressure the Government to enter negotiations with the leaders of the disenfranchised majority. Our present challenge, as the process of negotiations begins, is to develop an approach that will relate movement on sanctions to real and practical steps in dismantling apartheid. This approach will give credit when it is due, and at the same time sustain the pressure to maintain further change.

The recent decisions of the Commonwealth Heads of Government do this. In recognition of the progress already made, restrictions on visas, air links, tourism-promotion and cultural and scientific contacts have been ended. Canada, for its part, has also lifted its national restrictions on civilian official contacts, parliamentary missions and diplomatic accreditation. The sports boycott is being lifted on a sport-by-sport basis, when the appropriate South African non-racial sporting organization agrees to resume international competition, and when that sport is readmitted to the relevant international governing body. We were very pleased to welcome South African figure-skaters to the World Junior Championships in Canada last month.

As for trade and investment sanctions, the Commonwealth agreed these could be lifted when appropriate transitional mechanisms were agreed, enabling all parties to participate fully and effectively in negotiations. When a new democratic constitution is agreed financial sanctions can be lifted. Only when an elected post-apartheid Government is firmly established should the arms embargo and related measures be ended.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

Canada is looking to the future. We are looking beyond negotiations and sanctions. We want to be partners in beginning to build South Africa's tomorrow today. To maintain vital Canadian support, in the face of competing priorities elsewhere in the world, our Parliamentary Committee on Development and Human Rights is making South Africa and the region its major current subject of study.

This year we are providing over $15 million to assist the victims of apartheid. One third of this amount is devoted to education, through scholarships in both countries, community-based and labour education, and support for the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) and Commonwealth Nassau Fellowships. We have just announced a new Special Fund of $9 million over three years. This will support further human-resource and community development programmes, linking Canadian and South African non-governmental organizations. The need is vividly illustrated in a Commonwealth Expert Group's finding: its report says that South Africa has just 3,000 blacks in managerial, technical and professional positions compared with some 180,000 whites.

Canada has provided $1.5 million for the UNHCR repatriation of exiles and the same amount, through the churches, for the rehabilitation of freed political prisoners. We have pledged an additional $2.8 million for the longer-term resettlement of both groups. Our International Development Research Centre is active in supporting research on health and housing policy, and has just helped to launch an economic policy research network in South Africa. And last - but by no means least - our $1.8 million Dialogue Fund is supporting, first, better communication across the racial divide; secondly, grass-roots initiatives to end communal violence; and, thirdly, constitutional

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

research and expertise to help level the playing field for the forthcoming negotiations.

The United Nations has its own contribution to make. We are pleased with the efforts being made to develop more realistic and constructive resolutions. But resolutions alone no longer suffice at this period of transition.

We look forward to the United Nations system's becoming more engaged in South Africa. The UNHCR is already on the ground preparing for the large-scale return of exiles. Soon UNETPSA will be supporting in-country education for the exiles and other victims of apartheid. Once South Africa has a transitional administration inspiring general confidence, we would like to see the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund and the other specialized agencies launch technical and developmental programmes. As the country normalizes politically, it should increasingly enjoy the services normally available to Member States.

As the international community reconnects with South Africa, we would also like to see South Africa reconnect with the world. It could follow up its welcome accession to the nuclear-non-proliferation Treaty, for example, by becoming a party to the International Covenants on Human Rights, as the Secretary-General recently proposed and as its Foreign Minister advocated long ago. It could become a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. What a powerful symbol for the future that would be!

Those steps could be taken by the present Government. Once a transitional administration inspiring general confidence is in place, it should become possible to restore South Africa's participation as a Member

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

State in this Assembly. Its financial arrears will still have to be addressed, but such an administration will find there is a willingness to address them in a spirit of consensus, reflecting both South Africa's access as an individual nation, and its stake in establishing the global order.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

If the negotiations bear fruit, we may, by this time next year, be joined by a delegation representing the new South Africa. We may be united at that time in the search for solutions to the legacy of apartheid. But in this debate, in the discussion of these draft resolutions, let us dedicate ourselves to making our shared dream of eradicating apartheid a reality.

Mr. MGBOKWERE (Nigeria): In 1989 the General Assembly adopted by consensus the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. That Declaration was timely then and remains a major source of inspiration to the deprived majority population of South Africa in its legitimate struggle for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of freedom.

In this regard, we must again take due note that the Declaration specifies that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere that, by mutual agreement between the liberation movement and the South African regime, is free of violence. Furthermore, the Declaration lists five steps that the regime must take in order to create the climate conducive to negotiations.

We must recognize that since the adoption of the Declaration positive developments have taken place in South Africa, including the repeal of some apartheid legislation. However, we deeply regret that the South African Government has yet to create the appropriate atmosphere for free political activity.

In this regard, we are gravely concerned over the continuing tragic violence in that country. This violence, which has claimed thousands of

(Mr. Mgbokwere, Nigeria)

innocent lives, casts doubt on the impartiality of the South African regime in the negotiation process. The situation has been further confounded by the recent disclosure of the secret Government funding of some political organizations. Regrettably, contrary to expectations, the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991 has not put an end to the violence. We therefore urge all parties, particularly the Government of South Africa, to end the violence with the utmost urgency and commit thmeselves to negotiations and the peace process, which we see as the inevitable road to democratization. We share the view that if the violence is not speedily brought under control it will create, as the Special Committee against Apartheid recently noted, a legacy of profound resentment and hatred that the future South Africa could ill afford.

While welcoming the positive changes that have occurred in South Africa, the Organization must not and cannot afford to lose sight of the fact that the desired goal is a just and democratic society based on a non-racial, democratic constitution arrived at through negotiations between all parties involved. Our primary concern now is democratization in South Africa. The issue is the adoption and implementation of the principle of one man, one vote, operating in a non-racial environment in which all the people of South Africa enjoy the freedom to participate in determining who rules them. The issue is the transformation of an inherently and manifestly unjust system into a democratic one acceptable to all the people of South Africa, and the transfer of power to the majority.

It is clear that we can reach the desired goal only through negotiation. This is why the international community must attach the utmost importance to

(Mr. Mgbokwere, Nigeria)

the upcoming national Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), scheduled for 20 December 1991. Indications are that the United Nations and some other international organizations will serve as observers at the Convention. We must therefore seize the opportunity to lend practical and positive support to the peace and negotiation process in South Africa. It is essential that we help, by all available means, to keep up the momentum and prevent extremist elements and their agents from derailing the process that has been set in motion.

It is imperative, in this connection, that the international community continue to use effective forms of pressure until a non-racial, democratic society is established in South Africa. It is our belief that the relaxation of pressure should be carried out in phases corresponding to the nature of the changes evolving in South Africa, such as agreement on an appropriate transitional mechanism, agreement on the text of a new constitution and the establishment of a new, non-racial, united and democratic government in South Africa. The thoughtful and comprehensive statements on this agenda item made to the Assembly earlier by the leaders of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress underscored the need for continued concerted international action to this end.

There is no doubt that the repeal of apartheid laws does not repeal the legacies and practices of apartheid. My delegation therefore appeals to the international community to respond to the call of South Africans, as contained in the report of the Special Committee, for assistance to be extended as a matter of urgency to the victims of apartheid. In this regard, the issue of assisting them in human-resources development in preparation for post-apartheid South Africa assumes greater urgency today.

(Mr. Mgbokwere, Nigeria)

We should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for its asssistance in the return of exiles. The South African regime must for its part facilitate the return of all exiles.

(Mr. Mgbokwere, Nigeria)

My delegation welcomes the formation of the Patriotic United Front. We have always appealed to and called upon the oppressed people of South Africa to close ranks so that together they can work more effectively towards the achievement of their common goal. We urge them to remain united at the forthcoming Convention, which is expected to focus on the key issues central to their struggle.

As we begin to see the end of apartheid, we should feel proud of the Organization's considerable achievement through its relentless efforts exerted in the process of eradicating apartheid in South Africa. We believe there is no alternative to progress towards democratization in that country. For our part, Nigeria will continue to provide political and material support to all those working to put an end to apartheid and to restore freedom and justice in South Africa. We will leave no stone unturned to ensure that a new dawn, which we are all awaiting in South Africa, materializes sooner rather than later. The road ahead is still tortuous and laden with obstacles. Nevertheless, we strongly believe that a virile, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa will soon take its rightful place in the community of nations.

Mr. HUSSAIN (Pakistan): The world is undergoing rapid and dramatic transformations and a new wave of struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice is sweeping the world. Democracy, self-determination and defence of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms have acquired a new meaning and a sense of urgency. But despite the laurels that we as Members of the United Nations can justly shower upon ourselves for the many accomplishments in the recent past, it is vital that we remind ourselves of the urgent need to give a final push to the tottering edifice of colonialism, apartheid and oppression.

(Mr. Hussain, Pakistan)

Apartheid as a system is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; it undermines inherent human dignity and is a serious threat to international peace and security. It could not possibly have remained immune to global transformations. With the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Destructive Consequences of Apartheid, adopted two years ago, an inevitable process of change was set in motion, and since then, the international community has witnessed significant developments towards the dismantling of apartheid. Mr. Nelson Mandela, who had been incarcerated for 27 years in South African prisons, was released. He addressed the world in this very forum amidst thunderous applause last year. We heard him yesterday, as a statesman of tremendous acumen, constructive in approach and positive in attitude. We salute him for his endeavours and congratulate him and the black majority for their achievements.

We also welcome the repeal by the authorities of South Africa of such key apartheid legislation as the Group Areas Act and Land Acts, the revision of the Population Registration Act, the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal - the only province where it had remained in effect - the amendment of the Internal Security Act of 1982 in June this year and the impetus given to free political activity and the release of a number of political prisoners. The National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991, signed by the African National Congress, the authorities of South Africa and a number of organizations, has also come as a ray of hope for an improvement in the climate for negotiations in an atmosphere otherwise vitiated by violence. It is with the same hope and expectation that we look forward to the broad-based substantive negotiations on the constitutional future of South Africa, which are scheduled to take place later this month. We see these changes as positive and inevitable.

(Mr. Hussain, Pakistan)

But, while we have witnessed the emerging silver lining, the dark clouds still overshadow the process of the complete elimination of apartheid in all its manifestations. My delegation is seriously concerned at some of the recent negative developments that could have deleterious implications for the fragile political process, the foremost among them being the growing persistent violence, which is now aimed at destabilizing the democratic process in particular and the social structure in general. It is even more disconcerting to see that the South African regime is not entirely innocent or impartial in suppressing these acts. There are reports of complicity in fostering this persistent and pernicious violence on the part of elements in the security forces. Similarly, the profound socio-economic inequalities in South Africa, which are a direct consequence of the repressive system of apartheid, can also affect the atmosphere of negotiations. A mere repeal of apartheid laws will not alleviate the injustices inflicted upon the black majority during the long years of suppression and denial. For example, such a repeal cannot undo for the black majority the widespread process of land dispossession that they experienced under the Land Acts and as a result of which nearly 87 per cent of the total land ended up in the hands of the white minority, who comprise only 13 per cent of the total population. Comprehensive land reforms are required, including the restoration of land rights to the victims of forced removals and ejections. Economic restitution is needed to address urgently the serious socio-economic inequalities that have condemned the more than 53 per cent of blacks to live below the poverty line, as compared to only 2 per cent among the whites. Moreover, the lack of skilled black workers can be directly linked to the apartheid educational

(Mr. Hussain, Pakistan)

system. This deficiency is likely to be felt more acutely in a post-apartheid South Africa. A major educational reform is now needed to restructure the existing system at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

(Mr. Hussain, Pakistan)

The pillars of apartheid may have been removed, but some of the manifestations of discrimination remain and, therefore, its legacy lingers. The black majority remains disenfranchised; persons born before 25 June 1991 continue to be racially classified under the amended Population Registration Act and will remain so until a new non-racial democratic constitution comes into effect; more than 800 political prisoners are still incarcerated in South African prisons; death sentences continue to be handed down, and in August 1991, according to the report of the Secretary-General, 19 persons convicted of politically motivated offences were on death row; by August 1991 only 2,000 of the estimated 40,000 political exiles had returned under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as the regime is reluctant to give a general amnesty to all genuine political prisoners; the security legislation that provides for preventive detention for 14 days and for the detention of witnesses remains unchanged. These remaining discriminatory measures indicate that there is no clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in South Africa, as envisaged in the Declaration, and that, therefore, the ending of sanctions or of international pressure against South Africa is not justified.

It is imperative that the international community remain seized of the question and monitor the political process closely. Its action must be in tandem, and its response in accord, with the developments that are taking place. In this regard my delegation agrees entirely that the lifting of sanctions should be accomplished in three phases, as was proposed by Mr. Nelson Mandela in the important statement that he made to the General Assembly yesterday. The sanctions against South Africa have played a major role in the initiation of the current changes in the apartheid system, and it is my delegation's view that, for the most part, they are still necessary.

(Mr. Hussain, Pakistan)

We agree with the recommendation of the Special Committee against Apartheid that the academic and cultural boycotts and, in specific conditions, the sports boycott should be lifted. At their meeting in Harare from 16 to 22 October 1991 the Commonwealth Heads of Government also agreed to a phased lifting of sanctions in accordance with specific progress towards substantive negotiations on the new constitution. However, the time for the removal of economic, financial and military sanctions against South Africa has not yet arrived. Any measure aimed at the comprehensive lifting of sanctions might not only send a wrong signal but undermine the very process itself. It would also remove the necessary leverage, and the international community would no longer be able to exert pressure on South Africa until a new and democratic South Africa had become a fact rather than a hope. We cannot accept anything short of the total eradication and dismantling of the anachronistic system of apartheid.

As a member of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, Pakistan has participated actively in the consultations that that Committee has held, and in the decisions that it has made, with a view to ensuring that the mandate of the Trust Fund is carried out effectively. It is our view that in spite of - at times, indeed, because of - the recent developments it is important that the Fund and the international community continue to extend substantial legal, humanitarian and educational assistance so that the ongoing needs of the political prisoners, former political prisoners and returning exiles may be met, and the legitimate grievances resulting from the formal dismantling of apartheid structures addressed.

(Mr. Hussain, Pakistan)

The evil system of apartheid represents the very antithesis of the faith of the people of Pakistan. Islam preaches that all men, regardless of race, colour or creed, are equal before God. For us, equality and brotherhood are not just operational principles of morality and civilized behaviour but articles of faith.

The Government and people of Pakistan have always stood by the oppressed majority in South Africa and will continue to do so as this oppressed majority continues the struggle for its fundamental rights and freedoms. We have consistently maintained sanctions against South Africa, and we shall continue to do so until the odious system of apartheid, in all its forms and manifestations, is irrevocably, irreversibly and unambiguously eradicated.

We are confident that the resolute and concerted efforts of the international community to eliminate the abhorrent system of apartheid will soon come to fruition and that a new, non-racial, united and democratic South Africa based on justice, equality, self-determination and majority rule will rise from the ashes of brutal suppression and abhorrent racial discrimination, thus closing one of the darkest chapters in human history.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Since the adoption, at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa, the question of the eradication of the racist policies of the South African regime has been closely monitored by the international community - especially by the United Nations. The Declaration calls for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations, so that a democratic and non-racial South Africa, based on a new constitution, may be established. For the purpose of achieving this goal a programme of action was instituted. This programme prescribes that the

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

international community should not relax the existing measures against the apartheid regime until real, profound and irreversible changes take place.

In the past two years there has been some apparent progress. I refer, for example, to the removal of a few of the so-called essential pillars of the institutional structure of apartheid, the release of some political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of discriminatory legislation and the return of a number of political exiles. A number of laws - for example, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the racially based Land Measures Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Development of Black Communities Act - were repealed in June 1991, but, as the Special Committee against Apartheid, in its report, states,

"little has been done to give practical effect to the repeal." (A/46/22, para. 3)

Despite these developments the apartheid system is still in place and the deprived people of South Africa continue to suffer racism. According to the Special Committee's report there are still more than 800 political prisoners in South African jails. Between the beginning of January and the end of August 1991 some 81 persons were killed or injured as a result of actions of the security forces.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Furthermore, according to the Human Rights Commission, during the period from June 1990 to June 1991, 34 persons died at the hands of hit-squads. Socio-economic inequalities is yet another major issue addressed by the report of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, which states that:

"Less than 2 per cent of Whites, as compared with 53 per cent of Blacks, live below the poverty line". (A/46/22, para. 35)

A report released early in 1991 also indicated that 2.3 million South Africans suffered from malnutrition.

In this context, it is clear that the international community cannot be satisfied with the extent of recent changes in South Africa. The total eradication of all apartheid policies and the emergence of respect for the fundamental principles of equal rights for all human beings, regardless of colour or race, is essential.

The implementation of the Declaration adopted by the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly is of particular importance for the total elimination of apartheid in South Africa. As the Declaration has made clear, the sanctions against the present regime should be seriously continued as a major element of the international community's stance towards South Africa.

To implement this important Declaration, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been carefully monitoring the situation in South Africa, and, with a view to contributing to the elimination of the inhuman apartheid policies, has consistently sponsored resolutions of the General Assembly against the racist policies of apartheid, and has cooperated with various international bodies in order to strengthen the implementation of sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Contrary to the resolutions adopted against the policy of apartheid and its military activities referred to in General Assembly resolution 45/176, condemning collaboration between Israel and South Africa, the Special Committee Against Apartheid, in its latest report (A/46/22) has referred to the extensive collaboration between these two racist regimes. This report has also referred to the lifting of sanctions against South Africa by some countries as a premature and counter-productive action. We believe that the international community must increase its support for the opponents of apartheid and ensure that all sanctions, especially arms and oil embargoes aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid, are maintained. As document A/46/22, paragraph 193, states, any random lifting of sanctions "deprives the international community of its leverage and ability to promote the process".

In conclusion, the Islamic Republic of Iran is of the view that by concerted actions, taking into account the new international atmosphere, the abhorrent apartheid system can and must be dismantled. To achieve this goal, drafting a new constitution, with the participation of all patriotic representative groups in South Africa, is necessary to establish a united, non-racial and democratic country. In this regard, the unity of the democratic forces opposed to Pretoria is essential during the constitutional negotiations. Today, more than ever, the world is set for the elimination of violence and racism. This is the least that the international community should be able to achieve in order to alleviate the sufferings of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): The communiqué of Commonwealth Heads of Government, held recently in Harare, rightly underscored that the events that

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

have taken place in South Africa in the last two years are the vindication of the long years of implacable opposition to apartheid by the democratic opposition forces, and in particular of the tenacity and courage of the liberation movements.

Likewise, the special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences held in December 1989 was no more than a culmination of the international isolation and opposition to apartheid.

The Declaration subsequently adopted at this special session has raised a number of issues whose implementation continues to be of utmost importance and urgency for the international community.

We are thus encouraged by the second progress report on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (A/45/1052), in which it is stated that several measures aimed at creating a climate for negotiations have been undertaken. Accordingly, South Africa appears to be moving ahead towards discussing substantive issues, such as constitutional principles, the establishment of an interim government, and above all the creation of a climate conducive to free exercise of political activities in South Africa.

In this context, we note with satisfaction the recent repeal of the major laws which constituted the pillars of apartheid. However, we regret that apartheid still remains in place, as clearly stated by several delegations and by the reports submitted to us by the Secretary-General. The majority of the South African people continue to be prevented from exercising their legitimate political rights. The international community should continue to mobilize its resources in order to assist the South African people in their struggle for democracy, dignity and justice.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

My Government has already had the opportunity to welcome the signing of the National Peace Accord on 14 September 1991, between the South African Government and the main political organizations in South Africa.

The 14 September accord resulted from the need to address, as a matter of urgency, the unprecedented level of violence sponsored, funded and fuelled by forces still opposed to democratic transformation. These forces are in favour of perpetuation of the apartheid system as a way of protecting their privileges and selfish interests to the detriment of the interests of the South African people as a whole.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The successful outcome of the ongoing talks will depend, by and large, on the existence of an environment free of violence and intimidation. Such a climate would promote a growing understanding and confidence among all South Africans.

My delegation has followed with keen interest the outcome of the Patriotic-United Front Conference held at Durban last October. In this regard we welcome the establishment of the United Patriotic Front. With particular interest we note that the Conference emphasized the role of the international community in monitoring developments in South Africa.

We also note with satisfaction the invitations extended to the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth to participate as observers in the preparatory meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa that was held last month. We agree with that course of action.

We believe, therefore, that at this juncture it should be a matter of priority for the United Nations to continue monitoring closely the process leading to democratic changes in South Africa. Neither the Government nor the democratic forces in South African have anything to lose from a clear and complete transparency of the process leading to the elimination of apartheid.

It is true that one should not establish an automatic parallelism between the role played by the United Nations in Namibia during the decolonization process and the role of the United Nations in the ongoing process for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

One should bear in mind, however, that both issues share a common denominator. Both South Africa and Namibia have been among the most important items on the agenda of the General Assembly almost since the inception of the

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

Organization, and both items have consumed both time and energy.

In view of the current developments in South Africa, we believe that the General Assembly in its wisdom may wish to entrust the Secretary-General and the Special Committee against Apartheid with additional responsibilities in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

We are encouraged by the development of concerted efforts towards the creation of an appropriate climate conducive to the beginning of formal negotiations on a democratic and non-racial South Africa. In this regard we welcome the establishment of a broad-based preparatory committee to lay down the foundations for a convention for a democratic South Africa.

We believe that the sole fact that for the first time virtually all South African political parties and organizations have participated in this process constitutes in itself a clear indication of their readiness to settle existing differences through negotiations.

From this rostrum we should like to reiterate our appeal to the South African people to remain vigilant and united so as to avert the actions of those forces that are opposed to democratic transformation in South Africa. We believe it is high time for all peace-loving forces in that country to take maximum advantage of the momentum generated during the recent Preparatory Meeting on a Convention for a Democratic South Africa that took place last October.

My Government looks forward to the convening of the Convention, which is scheduled to take place this month in Johannesberg. We sincerely hope that the Convention will agree on a timetable for the beginning of substantive talks.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

As we have always stated, a peaceful, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa is vital for peace, stability, progress and cooperation in southern Africa. Our region enjoys enormous economic potential that may create a viable market in the near future, once peace is restored and confidence-building measures among nations of the region are deployed to prevent a further resurgence of new conflicts and violence.

The restoration of peace in southern Africa remains a matter of urgency. It would allow the peoples of that region to commit every effort to the interests of a speedy and harmonious development of the countries of the region.

Ten years of concerted efforts within the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) have encouraged our hopes and renewed our confidence that as soon as we can operate in a peaceful environment the countries of the region will no doubt display a better economic performance in years to come.

This will be all the more true if we take into account the fact that notwithstanding long years of war and destruction in the region and an unfavourable international economic environment, most States members of SADCC, including Angola and Mozambique, recorded positive growth rates in 1990 and 1991.

In 1990, the SADCC member States welcomed into their midst a new country, the tenth member of the organization, the Republic of Namibia. With prospects of a region free of apartheid, we look forward to having a democratic South Africa in SADCC to participate in the organization on the basis of equity, balance and mutual benefit.

As a matter of fact, the region is already preparing itself for that opportunity. A regional planning machinery involving SADCC member States and

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

liberation movements in South Africa has been established to analyse and assess the issues pertaining to regional cooperation in a post-apartheid southern Africa.

As the 1991 SADCC report states:

> "The major thrust of the regional endeavours is to achieve a regional integration of the economies of the region through coordination, rationalization and harmonization of member States' micro-economic and sectoral policies. This process should lead to greater complementarity between national and regional progress."

The attainment of this goal will obviously require a set of economic measures such as the integration of systems of investment, production and trade, including the promotion of freer movement of capital, goods and labour, as well as the movement of people within the region, in order to create a true southern African community of nations.

The countries of southern Africa are optimistic about the outcome of SADCC's annual consultative conference with the donor community that is to be held at Maputo next year, whose theme will be "SADCC: Towards Economic Integration".

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

I wish now to address the external dimension of the causes of apartheid - mainly the ongoing war in Mozambique. My Minister for Foreign Affairs, Pascoal Mocumbi, had the opportunity in October to outline before this Assembly our efforts to address the situation of war in Mozambique and bring about peace and tranquillity in the country.

On that occasion the Minister indicated that the negotiation process was difficult and sluggish, and that out of a total of seven rounds of direct negotiations between the Government and RENAMO, only a partial cease-fire agreement for Beira and the Limpopo corridors had been concluded.

As of now, I wish to inform this Assembly that since then there has been some progress in the negotiations. On 18 October 1991, the Government and RENAMO signed, in Rome, the first protocol on fundamental principles, which will guide the negotiations. The protocol, inter alia, commits both parties to work expeditiously to achieve a general cease-fire in Mozambique and it outlines the modalities for the conduct of the negotiations with a view to achieving that noble goal.

Subsequently, on 13 November 1991, a second protocol on the criteria and modalities for the establishment and recognition of political parties was also signed in Rome. The negotiations will enter their crucial stage when they resume in the course of this month in order to discuss the remaining issues, in particular the issues related to the electoral process and the conclusion of the general cease-fire agreement.

My Government's commitment to peace remains stronger than ever, and we shall spare no effort to reach that goal.

We have stated time and again that there is no justification whatsoever for the continuation of war in Mozambique. The adoption of the new

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

constitution last year has created the necessary environment and new opportunities for the free exercise by the Mozambican people of their individual rights and liberties. Under the new constitution all citizens have the right to free speech and association.

All political forces may pursue their objectives and strive to accede to power through a popular ballot, and free and fair elections, without having to resort to violence.

The economic consequences of the war of aggression and destabilization perpetrated against Mozambique by the apartheid regime of South Africa have been estimated at more than $15 billion in losses. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans have lost their lives. Millions have been forced to seek refuge in neighbouring States, while others have been moulded from their places of origin inside the country. Much of the early successes achieved in critical areas of health and education in the post-independence period have been swallowed up by the war imposed on our country. Consequently, development came to a halt, with dramatic consequences for the living conditions of the population.

The prospects of peace in Mozambique call for a renewed commitment by the international community in support of our initiatives and programmes for the normalization and rehabilitation of the lives of millions of Mozambicans, as well as of efforts to meet the challenges of reconstruction and development. We are conscious of the fact that the road ahead is a hazardous and complex one, inasmuch as our people will, unfortunately, continue to experience the terrible heritage of the destructive consequences of apartheid in southern Africa.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We are prepared to assume our own responsibilities in rebuilding a democratic and prosperous society. We are counting on the international community for the achievement of these noble goals.

Mr. ABDUL GHAFFAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): In recent years, the international community has exerted colossal efforts in pressuring South Africa to put an end to the policy of apartheid which it has pursued for more than four decades. The continued struggle of the black majority, as well as the momentum of the international changes that started to shape the new international order have led to a gradual change in the harsh policies and practices of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa.

In June 1991, the Parliament of South Africa adopted the Population Registration Act Repeal Act, No. 114, of 1991. The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, No. 108, of 1991, also repealed the Group Areas Act, No. 36, of 1966, the Black Land Act, No. 27, of 1913, the Development Trust and Land Act, No. 18, of 1936, and the Black Communities Development Act, No. 4, of 1984.

In this connection, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his Second Progress Report on the Implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, states that:

> "While the most basic laws of apartheid, as promised, were removed by last June, many of the concomitant attitudes and practices, as indeed the consequences of those laws, do persist." (A/45/1052, p. 3)

The Secretary-General made it clear that the Government of South Africa must take effective measures and adopt procedures to end all the consequences of the apartheid system which created profound socio-economic disparities in South Africa. By way of example, per capita income in 1991 reached R 20,600

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

for Whites, and no more than R 2,400 for Blacks. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid contained in document A/46/22, dated 20 November 1991, said that 53 per cent of Blacks were living below the poverty line. The same report stated that the economic situation was getting worse; it was particularly dramatic in the rural areas of the "Bantustans", where 85 per cent of Black households had an income below the minimum subsistence level. Another report - by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRRO) - dated July 1991 said that 2.3 million citizens in South Africa were malnourished.

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

With regard to the positive steps taken by the Government of South Africa to put an end to apartheid, Bahrain hopes that practical measures will follow to put a real end to all forms of racial discrimination and that the political rights of the black majority will be restored.

The preparatory conference held last month, in which 20 South African political organizations of different political persuasions participated, is an important event because it represents the beginning of consensus and unanimity on the need to put an end to the apartheid system. The international community is undoubtedly looking forward with optimism to the conference to be held on the 20th and 21st of this month in Johannesberg, in which representatives of approximately 20 South African political organizations will take part. This historic conference aims at drafting a new constitution for South Africa based on justice and equality between all sectors of the population.

We hope that the Government of South Africa will abide by the principles, guidelines and programme of work contained in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was adopted by consensus on 14 December, 1989 during the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. It should also implement General Assembly resolution 45/176 A, adopted on 19 December 1990.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): The past year has seen significant progress towards the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. The report of the Secretary-General, submitted in compliance with General Assembly resolution 44/244, as well as that of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the current session of the General Assembly, make this clear.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

However, in spite of the progress - which we welcome - prospects for a free, non-racial, united and democratic South Africa remain fraught with serious problems, and the process could still abort. Some satisfaction with the progress achieved so far is certainly warranted, and F.W. de Klerk deserves to be congratulated for the courage he has shown in responding positively to pressure calling for the fundamental transformation of South African society.

But euphoria at this time is definitively misplaced. The international community would be making a grave mistake if it were to lower its guard at this critical juncture in the evolution of the political process in South Africa. It will be recalled that, on 14 December 1989, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. This Declaration laid down nine fundamental principles which should form the basis of an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of apartheid, and five preconditions which the Pretoria regime must satisfy in order to create the necessary climate for genuine negotiations. It also suggests guidelines for such negotiations and proposes a seven-point programme of action by the international community for the eradication of the obnoxious system of apartheid through its support of the struggle for the victims of apartheid and of the front-line and other neighbouring States in their own struggle against destabilization.

A number of the preconditions stipulated in the Declaration have been satisfied by Pretoria. Its most recent action in this area was the repeal, in June, of the notorious pillars of apartheid - the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966, the Black Communities Development Act of 1984,

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

the amendments to the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Internal Security Act of 1982. The regime's latest action, as well as such earlier ones as the unbanning of all political organizations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of a number of political prisoners - including such prominent ones as Nelson Mandela - should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the regime's record in regard to the five preconditions has been halting and partial.

Not all the political prisoners have been released. Among the political prisoners still to be released are several imprisoned in a number of Bantustans, over which the regime claims to have no responsibility. Political trials are proceeding and, although political executions have not been carried out since the Declaration was adopted in 1989, dire sentences for political crimes continue to be handed down by the regime's judiciary.

The Declaration envisages negotiations in an atmosphere free of violence. The current situation in South Africa, particularly in the townships around Johannesberg, is far from satisfying this requirement. The regime has consistently denied that it has a hand in the perpetration of the wave of violence now sweeping the country, yet the evidence of a third force in what the regime and its allies have chosen to characterize as "black on black" violence is overwhelming. The recent disclosure of the secret funding of selected political organizations, with the sinister motive of weakening its political enemies, is only the latest. Subsequent evidence shows that, despite denials, this sordid collaboration has continued and that further funding was provided as recently as June this year.

This evidence is not just from anti-apartheid forces. Many of us, including human-rights activists, journalists and individuals previously

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

associated with the security forces, have provided evidence linking killer units, such as Koevoet, the Buffalo Battalion (Renamo) and elements, with the wave of violence which continues to plague the South African townships.

These obstacles have not deterred the anti-apartheid forces from pressing ahead with the search for a negotiated settlement. We congratulate them for denying their detractors the satisfaction they are seeking to sabotage the process of negotiations. In particular, we congratulate them for their role in bringing about the peace accords which seek to put an end to the violence. We call upon all concerned to cooperate in this effort. The regime has a particular responsibility as a party to the accords and as the authority responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It must exercise its responsibilities with impartiality and transparency to the satisfaction of the majority population of South Africa. The world will be watching to see how the regime discharges this responsibility.

The foregoing fully justifies the call by the anti-apartheid forces for the establishment of transitional arrangements which they can trust to be impartial. We share the concern expressed by the liberation movements that the present South African regime cannot be entrusted with the role of player and referee during the period of transition. The regime itself has vested interests which are at variance with those of the anti-apartheid forces at the negotiating table. In view of this, we fully agree with and subscribe to the urgent need for the establishment of appropriate transitional arrangements to oversee the period of transition from minority to majority rule.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

The Declaration also envisages free political activity in the run-up to the negotiations. The liberation movements were right to assert that while between 30,000 and 40,000 of their compatriots were still in exile outside their country that condition remained unfulfilled. It is gratifying to note that though the agreement concluded between the regime and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, those South African citizens will now be able to return to their country. We urge all concerned to lend their cooperation and support so as to ensure the speedy implementation of the agreement. We hope the resources necessary for the resettlement and reintegration of the exiles into the community will be made available.

At this juncture we wish also to hail and commend the liberation movements for their decision to form a United/Patriotic Front, which, we believe, will greatly facilitate the process of negotiations. It is only through a united and concerted effort that the desired success for the oppressed will be achieved. We hope the differences that emerged recently in their ranks over the arrangements for a convention on a democratic South Africa will not persist, and that their common position will soon be reestablished.

Now more than ever before the anti-apartheid forces cannot afford to ignore the only weapon that will ensure them success at the negotiating table. Even before substantive negotiations begin it is becoming clear that continuing consultations with the regime demand all the unity that the democratic forces in South Africa can muster.

To say that the South African regime did not agree to negotiations of its own volition but essentially in response to intense pressure from the

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

oppressed majority both within and outside South Africa and from the international community is to state the obvious. It goes without saying that pressure is necessary to keep it at the negotiating table. We know the regime's track record only too well, and we realize that any premature relaxation of sanctions could derail the process. Besides, the regime is not the only target of sanctions. The forces inside South Africa opposed to the democratic transformation of the country, including extreme elements of the white minority, need to see that the international community means business.

After a lot of arguing over whether or not we have reached the point envisaged by the Declaration of "profound and irreversible changes" where sanctions may be relaxed, a consensus has emerged that that point is a continuing and not a static one. The agreement reached by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their Harare summit meeting in October best captures that consensus. Linking the relaxation of sanctions with the process towards the eradication of apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa is the best international response to the evolving situation.

After surveying the situation in South Africa and indicating what has been achieved, the problems confronted and the problems still to be confonted, the Secretary-General states in his second report on the implementation of the Declaration that

> "The response of the international community needs to be finely tuned to this complex and delicate process. As the Declaration envisages, encouragement, pressure and assistance would need to be suitably applied as the process unfolds, bearing in mind that the ultimate objective is the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa." (A/45/1052, para. 14)

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

That strategy, which combines encouragement with pressure, recognizes and rewards movement where this is warranted. It is the hope of my delegation that that approach will commend itself to the General Assembly.

In the course of this debate we have been fortunate to have listened to Mr. Clarence Makwetu, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and to Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, two eminent representatives of the oppressed majority population of South Africa. We have been enriched by their first-hand accounts of the evolving situation in their struggle to free their country from apartheid. Their message was clear with regard to the role the international community has to continue playing in order to lend momentum to the process. They cautioned that it was not yet time to lift all pressure from South Africa. My delegation urges the Assembly to heed that plea.

More than ever before, the struggling people of South Africa need the support and solidarity of the international community. Without such support and solidarity the present promising opportunities could be jeopardized.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.